/89 cont./

French-Uro Vocabulary

/104 The phonetic system used in this article is the same as the one that /90/ Dr. Paul Rivet uses in his article on the Uro language (1): č corresponds to the Spanish "ch"; š to the French

1. See note 1, p. 1.

"ch"; ǰ is an affricate which would be transcribed as "dj" in French; x is the Spanish "j," and l' the "ll" or liquid l of the same language. The combined sign k^{x} is a half-occlusive, the cutting-off of which produces a sound close to the Spanish "j." A mark under the vowels indicates that they are very open. U is a semi-vowel which is close to w.

193 197 The grammar of the Uro of Ancoaqui does not seem to differ from that of the dialect of the Čipaya. One finds the same verbal endings, the same suffixes, etc.

192 The words preceded by one asterisk are those which are derived from Aymara, those marked with two asterisks derive from Spanish, and with three, from Kičua /Quechua/. /The word list, pp. 90-110, is omitted in the translation; see the foreign text./

/347 cont./

*796 prehistoric necklaces, in each cupulé. He did the same with a piece of iron pyrite. His helper put small pieces of gold and silver leaf, small quantities of pink and blue mineral powder, incense, cinnamon bark, white and black maize flour, etc. in each cupule.

*796 539 The Officiant then planted a cross and his sacred stick facing east and knelt before them. He then began to recite, with eyes half-closed, in a loud and penetrating voice a series of prayers, of which I was able to record the following:

Tata	Santiago,	araxpaǩa	Santiago,	kimsatunxsoxtani			
Father	Santiago,	sky	Santiago,	36			
platu	resibite	tarapital'a,		ukˣaro	Santo	San	Felipe,
dishes	receive	thou wilt receive,		next	Saint	Saint	Philip
ukˣaro	Santo	San	Geronimo,	Santo	Yunguyo(1)	resibe	
next	Saint	Saint	Jerome,	Saint	Yunguyo	receive	

[103]

1. Yunguyo is the name of a group of huts where Espíritu Mamani, who recited this prayer to me, lived.

tarapital'a	aka	insensio,	resibe	tarapital'a	
thou wilt receive	this	incense,	receive	thou wilt receive	
todos	abogados	araxpaǩa,	suma	karpa,	waino (2) karpa,
all	intercessors,	sky,	good	rain,	rain,

● [193] [192]

2. This word, which always precedes a significant word — "rain," "weather," or "year," has always been translated for me by "good"; I have felt some doubts, however, about the precision of my transcription. Its pronunciation

/347 cont./

has seemed to me sometimes wainu, sometimes l'anu. In the first case one could relate it to the Kičua waina and conjecture that through a strange semantic evolution the word "young" came to mean "good." It is also possible that l'ano is the Uro word for "good," which has today been replaced by the Aymara suma.

apanital'a	l'ano(2)	karpa	araxpač̆a	hasiru,	koč̆eru
send to me	good	rain	sky	shadow	lagoons of water

2. /Refers to preceding note./

niviru,	araxpač̆a	makinero,	araxpač̆a	barkiru
snow	sky	engineer	sky	boatman

/348/ "Santiago, (our) father, Santiago of the sky, receive these 36 dishes, next Saint Philip, next Saint Jerome, next Saint Yunguyo, receive them as also this incense. You all who are our intercessors in the sky, send us good rains, shadows of the sky (clouds), lagoons of water and snow, you who are the engineers, the boatmen of the sky."

Taki	kimsa	pak̆al'u	uyuwiri	Wirxina,
All	three	heads of livestock	foster-mother	Virgin,

kač̆a	pak̆al'a	uyuwiri	Wirxina,
large	heads of livestock	foster-mother	Virgin,

kulumayu	uyuwiri	Wirxina,	č̆ita	mama	uyuwiri.
pigs	foster-mother	Virgin,	sheep	mother	foster-mother.

Carangas - Chipaya

/338 cont./ Uro, as much in Chipaya as

192 in Ancoaqui, has been absorbed by Aymara. I have indicated in my
197 dictionary the words or roots of Aymara origin with one asterisk, those of Spanish provenance with two, and Kičua /Quechua/ roots with three. If one counts up all the words of foreign origin, one will see that they constitute an impressive percentage in comparison with the purely Uro words. The latter, moreover, such as they may be, [193] always have an Aymara doublet to which an Uro ending is simply added. According to the individual, the number of Aymara roots which recur in their speech varies: the young people who have traveled are naturally more inclined than the old to stuff Uro phrases with Aymara words and terms. They know the corresponding Uro word but forget to use it; little by little they will leave them aside
191 and the latter will disappear. The infiltration of Aymara is already
197 so acknowledged that even children eight to ten years old speak it fluently. Čipaya who, for one reason or another, have been absent from their villages for several years, are subsequently reluctant to use their old language; even the women, who hardly ever leave their village, all express themselves in Aymara. This influence of Aymara on Uro dates from a long time ago. Naturally, the battle between the two languages will end with the elimination of that of the
197 weaker and more backward people. In the Čipaya dialect words as
192 common as "brother" and "sister" have already disappeared before their Aymara equivalents. This example alone says much on the [193] state of decomposition of Uro. This disintegration has not only affected the vocabulary but also the grammar: the negations, adverbs, adverbial locutions are purely Aymara.

One will be struck on casting an eye on this vocabulary by the large number of Spanish words adopted by the Uro-Čipaya. I myself was surprised to ascertain this penetration of Spanish in the language of a people who live so isolated and find themselves in direct contact with no city or even village where Spanish is spoken. I would have attributed this phenomenon to the sojourns and trips which the Čipaya made a few years ago to Chile. If one examines the Spanish elements that Uro contains, however, one cannot consider them as recent

/341 cont./

194 ǰ = English "j," dj in French.

t^{s} = an affricate generally transcribed ts.

w = "w" in English ("water").

l' = a liquid "l" as in Spanish. It is possible that I may have sometimes mixed it up with y.

p^{h} = a p, followed by a light breath. /342/

k^{x} = (I do not think I am in error) a medio-guttural affricate, a very frequent sound in Čipaya.

Grammar

193 The few rules of grammar which can be deduced from the texts I collected will appear in the reading itself of this dictionary. I must point out, however, the existence of a sort of suffixed article, ki, frequently added to substantives: kerka: armadillo; kerkaki: the armadillo; k^{x}oya: house; k^{x}oyaki: the house, etc.

Gender exists in Čipaya; it manifests itself in some words, in the first place in the demonstrative adjective ti for the masculine and ta for the feminine, and in the ordinal adjective "a" tsi, tsa.

The masculine gender is indicated in certain cases by the presence of an a: usa (male child, boy); us (female child, little girl); sewa: widower; seu: widow, etc.

Vocabulary

Preliminary remarks

128 192 I have indicated the root for each verb, which I tried to disengage from the different forms which were given me by my informants. In doubtful cases I have left the burden of decision to the reader. The verbs for which I had only one example have been written down such as they are.

/170 cont./

*539 731 178 433 511 23. We are going to sell them to the people of the other race, at three for one real.

/171/ Remarks

*539 731 178 161 433 This account, dictated by an old Uru about 90 years old, Manuel Inta, is a commentary on the wide dispersal of the Uru, undoubtedly permanent, after a series of years of drought, 1940 to 1946. In 1944 there were only a few old people in their old village of Iru-Itu. The drought had destroyed the vast swamps of the Desaguadero and their reed fields, the source of all the activity of these Indians, bringing about the disappearance of the conditions which had made it possible for them to maintain their ethnic individuality in the midst of the Aymara populations. These complaints express the bitterness of the old Urus, fishers and gatherers, obliged, in order not to starve to death, to change their economy, working [167] in the fields of their Aymara neighbors. The young Urus have dispersed, some having mingled with the Aymara or Amaracized fishers of Lake Titicaca, others having established themselves in Aymara villages or communities.

*539 192 193 [101] wáki, Bolivian village of Guaqui, on the small lake. ὸx'ǰa, literally, "different," the people of another race, the Aymaras. Note the particle čᵘ intercalated between the root and the ending of the verb: Káya -čúčay, tánáču- čay, lúx-káču -čay, in order to reinforce the idea expressed by the verb and to indicate a customary action. The particle ki intercalated between the root of the verb and the ending čay indicates the future. The verb Káči- čay means "to engage in business," "to sell" as well as "to buy," or "to earn money." tumíni, a

*539 192 tomin (old Spanish coin): a word unknown to the present lake Aymaras but still used by some natives of the Puno region.

Note three other Hispanicisms: 1. kustúmbro, "custom"; 5. isú-čay, esto or eso, "that"; 17. ni- únu, "this alone," from the Spanish uno, "one."

/171 cont./

*539 192 193 1. píni means "many"; with hána it may be rendered by "no more"; učúmi, exclusive personal pronoun /172/ for the first person plural. 2. čalák, probably the Spanish chacra, "cultivated field"; the Uru do not have their own word to designate fields. 4. The ending čay added to a root gives it [136] the verbal form. 6. xui, interrogative particle. 7. suche, small kind of sheatfish from the Titicaca region; it is the [824] Trichomycterus dispar. 8. totora, Scirpus totora, the reeds of Lake Titicaca used by the Uru to build their balsas, cover their houses, and for other uses. 12. ke-, particle of repeti- [101] tion. 14. tòxša, literally "other persons," designates all men other than the Uru; nak' for náka, plural form of pronouns.

*539 396

II. Manufacture of Balsas from Totoras
(Account by Manuel Inta)

(See p. 154 /in the foreign text/)

Free Translation

1. Let us go, as is our custom, to find totoras to make a [283] balsa. 2.. We are accustomed to go far to make the straw ropes /necessities/. 3. Three days are needed to dry (the straw ropes). 4. The straw ropes are well dried now. 5. Now all these totoras are well dried. 6. Let us make the balsa. 7. A man cuts the totora. 8. The totora is tied (in bunches). 9. Three have to be made (bunches of totora): the heart (the middle spindle) and the two side spindles of the balsa. 10. We tie (the spindles); now we are going to squeeze them together very tightly, at first it takes two men to squeeze it together. 11. We have the custom of sprinkling (the totora) with water so that it does not dry. 12. Now we are going to tighten; to tighten we are accustomed to use a hook. 13. We beat (the totora) with /173/ a rock (in order to compress it).

/174 cont./

*539 396 on each side of the balsa (10, 12, 17) in order to make the two large side cylinders equal in weight, bulk, and compression. This is the delicate part of the manufacture, on which the stability and quality of the craft depend. The Uru use wooden hooks for this job (12). At the same time they compress the totora with a stone hammer (13), adding or removing totora as necessary; they water it from time to time to prevent it from drying. When the work is finished the middle cylinder, the heart of the balsa, completely hidden between the side [461] cylinders, is invisible. Depending on the size, the construction *539 501 of a balsa takes an average of three to six days. The life of a balsa is short; after having been wet they become heavy and rot inside; they are good for six months to one year in general.

The balsas used on the Desaguadero and on the low parts of the lake in the neighboring lagoons which are not very deep (Arapa, Unumayo) do not have sails (23), or only a very small sail, in contrast to the balsas on the large lake which they propel by sail. The Uru steer them with the help of a boat hook ending in three teeth, which they push against the muddy [191] bottom (24). These boat hooks are identical to those of the Guatos of upper Paraguay, who belong to the Nu-Arwak /Nu-Aruak/ linguistic group.

*539 193 From the point of view of grammar, note the frequent use of the repetitive particle -ɤ̌u-, indicating that the action expressed by the verb is habitual. Also note the repetitions of words or roots to reinforce the idea expressed (3-12, etc.)

The verb ɤ̌iɤ̌l' čay expresses the idea of carrying off, of lifting up, of raising (22-23); compare it with 4-5 of text III.

/176 cont./

*539 223 sell it. 46. We must return with this one; let's return. 47. There are no more. 48. We go along in vain. 49. We have looked everywhere; there are no more. 50. We are going to carry everything to the house.

Remarks

*539 226 223 This text is divided into three parts. In a short introduction (1-9) the narrator explains the fishing customs of the Uru, and then he describes a day of fishing and hunting aquatic birds in the swamps of the Desaguadero: the departure (10-14), the work of the catcher, who hits the water with a boat hook to direct the frightened fish toward the nets (15-16); fishing for suche (Trichomycterus dispar), a silurus /sheatfish/, which is the largest fish in the lake, reaching 30/35 cm., captured by means of a long three-meter spear ending in multiple points (17-27); and lastly, hunting for coots (Fulica gigantea and Fulica americana) forced into flight and then killed with the boat hooks (30-34) or captured with bolas with wooden balls (35-42). The captured coots are killed by a bite at the head (44). Then comes the return (45-50). This account is very lively.

*539 192 193 There are no special words for fishing or hunting; only the verb tána- čay, literally, "to take," is used.

From the point of view of grammar the text furnishes interesting verbal forms, in particular, the forms indicating the usual -čučay, as in the previous texts; the form -čáčay (46), implying the idea of obligation; the double use of the root (8) to reinforce the idea expressed by the verb. Moreover, the frequency of the euphonic letters s and l: 2, 5, 8, etc., should be emphasized.

This text contains two Hispanicisms: the first is very curious (8); in order to better render the idea of solitude, alone, absolutely alone, the narrator has repeated the word "one," /177/ but by pairing the Uru word tína, "alone," with the

/177 cont./

*539 192 193 Spanish word uno /"one"/. In 9 the Spanish word voluntad (will) is deformed into pulúntá, as v does not exist in Uru, but it keeps the Spanish tonic accent.

IV. Nocturnal Fishing
(Account by Manuel Inta)

(See p. 161 /in the foreign text/)

Free Translation

*539 206 1. We are accustomed to fish at night. 2. We are accustomed to fish in darkness. 3. But how can one see at night? 4. One can easily see the fish moving about. 5. We cover ourselves with the sail to keep from being cold.

Remarks

[132] The Uru often go fishing at night in their fishing enclosures, and in order not to suffer from the intense cold and the icy wind, they shelter themselves under the totora sails of their craft.

*539 192 193 1. The form maká- xe, "by night," "in the darkness," is analogous to tom- xe, "today," "on this day," and to num- xe, "by day." 3. kún, an interrogative particle, "how," is accompanied by the pure root of the verb. 4. kíre, "fish," is often pronounced kíri. 5. sráp'- pa indicates finality and may be added either to a verb root or to a substantivé form or adjective, as is the case here.

/180/

Remarks

*539 226 The Uru build dams of totoras in a V-form on the Desaguadero, the point oriented toward the direction of the current. A narrow passage contrived at the point is closed at the time of fishing by means of a large circular net, the káku, installed on a balsa. Fishers standing on one or several balsas go downstream, beating the water with long poles furnished with a totora ball, in order to frighten the fish which, descending the river course, enter the enclosure and fall into the net [423] placed at the point. Each Uru family has its fishing enclosure, very far away from those of its neighbors (6-7). The distribution of the location of these enclosures as well as the use of the totora fields which are used to make balsas was ruled by Uru customary law.

*539 ●193 1. ti- ki or simply -ki, a particle to designate the object about which one is speaking: this enclosure here; this river here (5). 6. ɟíla- ɟíla, literally "one," means "one for each"; the repetition of the adverb háske háske has the value of a superlative; "far, far, very far"; Aymara and Kešwa form the superlative in an identical manner: eg.: Kala- Kala, "rock rock," in Aymara: "many rocks."

VII. The Village of the Uru at Iru-Itu
Comments on photographs by Manuel Inta

(See p. 164 /in the foreign text/)

Free Translation

*539 [346] 1. Is this your chapel? 2. It is our chapel. 3. These are our houses. 4. The chapel is seen from behind. 5. The chapel is good that way (seen from the front). 6. The totora [824] is kept upright in a heap. /181/ 7. It is kept in a heap so that it will not rot.

/181 cont./

*539 [501] it will not rot. 8. This is a balsa from the big lake. 9. Its prow is raised. 10. That one is a big balsa. 11. That one is a small balsa. 12. There are no other balsas. 13. This is a house of the other people (the Aymara). 14. This is a house of unburnt bricks (adobes). 15. This is a house of the Aymara community (lit., "of the other people"). 16. What more shall I tell thee? That is all. 17. Now I want to rest, oh father.

Remarks

*539 124 This text reproduces the comments of old Manuel Inta, looking at a series of photographs of his native village, Iru-Itu, and of the region. The photographs of Iru-Itu were recognized without difficulty; those of less familiar sites provoked various reflections before being well identified (13-15).

*539 ●193 1. xwí, interrogative particle; kapílá, this is the Spanish word capilla, "chapel." 4. We have not found any passive form among the Uru; to express the idea "has been seen from the back," the informant used the active voice: cèrk'- ku ɪ- / 1 2 nís- čay, literally one he has seen; ku indicates the recent / 3 2 3 1 past. It must be noted that this cast of mind was spontaneous, no question having been put to him; ɪ used in the text is an elision for i, "one," and has suffered a contraction with the previous vowel. 9. hoča expresses the idea of "point," being able to indicate as well as the raised prow of the balsa, a mountain summit, the nose, or the verb "to point" in the sense of being in a pointed form. 9-10-11. The narrator describes the three principal types of balsas of the Uru: with a raised, pointed prow for navigation on Titicaca (big lake); the big fishing balsas of the Desaguadero for three or four people, and the small balsas for one or two people. 13-15. tòxša, "others," or tòxša náka, /182/ "other people," the usual way to designate

*539 [501]

[101] [829]

/184/

* 539
764

IX. Funeral Customs
(Account by Carlos Kispe)

(See p. 167 /in the foreign text/)

Free Translation

[995]
[982] 1. We others, we have the custom of making a meal in honor of the soul. 2. We offer libations to the souls. 3. At night we have the custom of digging (the grave). 4. Then we have the custom of coming to burn (the clothes of the dead person). 5. We have the custom of burning the clothes of the soul. 6. Let us go burn these clothes. 7. Let us light the fire. 8. We burn only the clothes.

Remarks

In this short account the informant summarizes several funeral practices of the Uru. At first it is the evening of the funeral, during which relatives and friends eat in honor of the dead person (1) to whom libations of alcohol, chicha, and coca are offered (2). After the burial, without a coffin, in a simple ditch dug during the night (3), and which will not subsequently be marked by anything, the clothes of the dead person are burned.

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764
191 These practices are very different from those of the other natives of the Cordillera, speakers of Aymara or Keŝwa, who gather several days after the burial to wash the dead man's clothes and divide them up. The customs of the Uru recall those of numerous Amazonian groups.

The complete abandonment of the grave after burial must also be noted; it contrasts with the care which other populations of the Cordillera give to graves.

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● 93 1. uc̆úmi; this is the personal pronoun of the first person plural, with the exclusive meaning "we others, the Urus."

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 23]

/185/

*539 101 114 Urus." Some authors (Posnanski) have thought that ucúmi was the name which the Uru gave themselves in their own language. Fray Anontio de la Calancha already spoke of them by the *539 192 name of Ochozuma. awíri or awári designates the double of the person who lives on after the latter's death; our informant [175] also uses the Spanish word alma (5), "the soul"; but he never used the word for defunct or dead, tíkistíkni-čay, literally, "that which is stretched out," designating the corpse, which [193] is not the object of any ceremony. 2. The verb pít'-čkičay means "to offer alcohol or chicha to a spirit"; here we have the imperative indicated by the prefix ču followed by the pure root. 5. škít- ti designates clothes in general.

*539 124

X. Conversation with the Two Informants: Carlos Kispe and Manuel Inta

(See p. 168 /in the foreign text/)

Free Translation

1. C. K.: These words which we have taught thee have tired us. 2. M. I.: My throat is dry from talking. 3. C. K.: [274] The coca is finished. 4. M. I.: There is no more coca at all. 5. C. K.: Give us some brandy. 6. Investigator: I shall give [273] thee some. 7. M. I.: I shall drink, oh father (formula of politeness before drinking). They drink. 8. M. I.: Be very alert, oh father (formula of politeness after drinking). [126] 9. C. K.: Thou hast made a picture of us two (C. K. and his wife) next to each other; thou wilt send it to us. 10. Investigator: Good, I shall send thee this picture; why dost thou ask for it? 11. C. K.: When my wife dies I shall look at her picture. 12. M. I.: Now we shall not say anything more to anyone.

/186/

Remarks

*539 124 This little, very lifelike scene shows the usual difficulties in any ethnological investigation; the informants tire quickly, and the investigator is harassed by requests. Our two informants however were excellent.

*539 192 193 1. The suffix náka indicates the plural; takú means "word," "speech," "language." 2. s- kõ- čay is used for kõ- čay, the s is euphonic; compare s- mír- háčay in 9. 4. A typical example of an adjective assuming a verbal form: wáka means "all"; by adding kíčay, the past suffix, the word "all she has been," is formed. 5. awáritiš is the Spanish word, aguardiente, eau-de-vie /brandy/. 7. ɬíka-čay, "I shall drink," formula of politeness before drinking. 8. húwa means "quick," "lively," "agile," and in a figurative sense, "intelligent," "quick-witted"; here it is a wish used as a formula of thanking; háp'- pay, "father," a frequently used honorific used for "monsieur." 9. kę- skéču; the repetition of the first syllable of the word has the value of a superlative: "very, very close"; litrát is the Spanish word retrato, portrait.

[115] 11. The informant, about 60 years old, hopes very much to die after his wife, who is, however, less than 40 years old. I am not absolutely sure of the transcription of tíkš' na- tačíkni; it is a future form of dead, literally, "who is stretched out."

[191] In this whole dialogue one will notice the rather different phonetics of the two informants. Thus čis- čay, "to talk," sometimes becomes či- čay; Carlos Kispe often leaves off endings in čay- ; he even often leaves off final syllables or letters.

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XI. Farewells
(Dialogue dictated by Carlos Kispe)

(See p. 169 /in the foreign text/)

Translation

1. Dost thou not find it difficult to go away? 2. With much reluctance I shall go to my house. 3. Dost thou want to stay or dost thou want to leave? 4. I wish to go away. 5. Stay longer; it is better to stay now. 6. While thou travelest toward thy house, thou mightst meet a storm. 7. Eat thy meal; afterward thou shalt leave. Thy wife will be able to see thee from afar.

Remarks

We heard this short dialogue at Tihuanaco between our two informants, Carlos Kispe, who was staying with us, and old Manuel Inta, in a hurry to return home. Carlos Kispe repeated [191] it to us. The usual mistakes of this informant are to be again found here: the use of wáli, an Aymara word meaning "much"; transformation of the ending čay into ča; frequent elisions.

*539
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1. kún, an interrogative particle which is placed before the verb; compare kúmi- pèk' (5). Note the future forms -kičay, used in this whole dialogue, and tú lún táni, literally, "to take trouble." 2. kinák', a particle which is placed after the object, indicating direction with motion. 3. The Uru have no conditional or dubitative form; they present the two proposals without any conjunction. 4. káli, "from here"; a particle which is placed after the verb, indicating departure from the place where one is. 6. káma, a particle placed after the verb; it is common to Keŝwa and to Aymara, meaning "whilst." 7. -stáni, a particle placed after the verb, meaning "after." /188/ 8. t' kúwa, a contraction; the correct form

/188 cont./
*539 193 would be tukú- nua, "woman," "spouse." Note the placing of the particle áskę, "far " between the root and the ending of the verb.

*539 121 It was interesting to publish these texts, which make possible some useful comparisons with Orés Pukina text, which will be the subject of our next note, and with Métraux's three Chipaya texts.

*539 190 [194] Considerable phonetic differences exist between Uru and Chipaya. For example, the ending čai, so characteristic of Uru but which already is tending to become ča or to be dropped, becomes ja in Chipaya. Chipaya pronunciation is much harder, with a greater frequency of gutterals, no doubt as a [192] result of Aymara influence. The Chipaya vocabulary contains a much higher proportion of Aymara, Keŝwa, and even Spanish words, and this does not originate solely from the nature of the texts gathered by Métraux: the trip of a Chipaya to Chile, and life in the barracks; one finds the same character in his second text, describing life in the fields. Outside this variable proportion of foreign words, differences in vocabulary are slight.

[193] The syntax of the two groups is identical, but nevertheless much less varied in Chipaya.

All this underlines the close linguistic affinities of these [184] two groups. It is the same language, practically extinct, spoken by two small, completely separated populations; it is better preserved among the Uru and more altered among the Chipaya, and already displays considerable variations from one generation to another within the same group.

*539 184 The differences are much more marked in the very content, rather than form, of the texts. The Uru mainly describe their work as fishermen and, to some extent, their customs. Métraux was able only with difficulty to obtain from the Chipaya a few phrases on their work /189/ in the fields and on animal husbandry, and his texts are mainly accounts of

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
SF24 Uru SF24

sympathetic Bertonio lists the Uru in his vocabulary as "Vn nacion de indios despreciados entre todos . . . y de menos entendimiento," Paredes calls them "brotado . . . despreciables, de poco entendimiento, ásperos y zahereños." The Belgian traveller Walle says of them, "The face is lifeless and without expression; it betrays hardly a sign of intelligence." Posnansky writes:

> El Uru no tiene placeres, desconoce ahora el juego. La riza jamás asoma a los labios de su cara inmóvil, sin la menor mímica, tostado por el sol y petrificado por el viento glacial. Hasta sus niños son pusilánimes, apáticos y tristes; acurracados y mudos. . . . Todo el aspecto de los Urus es el de un pueblo amordazado.

Métraux preferred their congeners, the Chipaya, to them as being less morbidly distrustful, suspicious, fearful, brutal, and stupidly avaricious than their neighbors:

> The Uru have a character and a genius as sombre as the Aymara. The stranger who comes to visit them receives a cold, even a slightly hostile welcome on their part. To this illwill is added the unhealthy rapacity of the Aymara and the Bolivians, and finally the apathy and heaviness of spirit which renders the *altiplano* Indian so downright hateful. . . . The last thirty Uru of the Desaguadero rival each other in hostility and distrust before even well-intentioned strangers, and it is scarcely pleasant to sojourn among them.

The present writer, however, after months of field-work with the Aymára, found the Uru vastly more sympathetic than the former truculent, hate-filled group; in my original field notes I have accounted the Uru a "cordial and smiling people . . . rather more vivacious and handsome than the Aymára"![14]

History. Of the history of the Uru almost nothing is known. Their only tradition is that they have lived in their present home immemorially but have been progressively despoiled of their lands by the Aymára. Alcedo, writing in the latter half of the 18th century states that those on the islands in Lake Titicaca had, against their will, been removed to the mainland, where they dwelt in gloomy caves and in holes in the ground covered with reeds. Throughout their history the Uru appear to have been a steadily and rapidly disappearing minority group, subject in turn to the Aymára, Inca, and Spanish.

Language. I did not live with the Uru long enough to learn the language in any sense, or even to control the phonemic system. The utter independ-

[14] J. de Acosta, *Historia de las Indias* (1591), p. 62. Garcilaso de la Vega, *Comentarios Reales de los Incas*, Vol. 7, p. 4. Bertonio, *op. cit.* Vol. 2, p. 380. Paul Walle, *Bolivia* (New York, 1914, tr. Bernard Miall). Posnansky, *op. cit.*, p. 90. Métraux (JSAP 27), p. 89; (28), p. 207.

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
SF24 Uru SF24

ence of this latter, however, is evident to anyone familiar with the Aymará. Inasmuch as the almost unique grammatical sketch of Uru has appeared in a somewhat obscure and inaccessible publication,[15] a summary of the language of this little-known group may be of value to scholars and linguists.

The sounds b, v, d, f, ll, rr and z do not seem to occur in the language of the Uros. The adjective always precedes the noun, and has no mark of gender. The infinitive of the verb has several different terminations, apparently according to the words from which, when secondary, it is derived. Three tenses, present, past, and future, are distinguished by prefixed or suffixed particles, but the material at hand is not sufficient to enable one to settle the whole matter of conjugation, etc. In compound nouns Polo says (p. 480), "the components are arranged in the order which their signification expresses, *e.g. chekere-koche* (shoe), from *chekere* (what is covered), and *koch.* (foot)." The number of Uran words, whose etymology is known is, however, too small to settle this point completely.

The nymerical system of the Uros deserves a few words. There are separate words for 1, 2, 3; then 4, 5, 6, are, respectively, *pácpic, paknucu, pacchui*, in which a common first element *pac* appears; 7, 8, 9, *tohoco, cohonco, samaco* (also *sankau*) seem to have a common terminal *-co; kalo*, 10, is unrelated to the other numerals; 11, 12, 13, etc., are *kalosi, kalo-piske; kalo-chep*, etc.; 100 is *kalo-kalo* (also *pac*); and 1000 could be expressed by *kalo-pac.*

Among the principal suffixes in the Uran language are the following:

-ai; in names of male relatives, etc. (*apai*, fathers; *suhuai*, son; *chichulai*, brother, etc.)

-chi; in certain names of female relatives, etc. (*achichi*, grandmother; *machi*, daughter; *ushakpischi*, girl).

-ni; in certain adjectives (*chakni*, green; *chikni*, old).

-si; a frequent termination in nouns (*coasi*, water; *muksi*, cigar; *chacsi*, coca; *lucsi*, spoon; *tucsi*, stomach; *potsi*, axe; *chequisi*, lasso; *chici*, moon; *masi*, stone; *pacsi*, bridge.

Among the suffixes of the infinitives are: *-ai, -ana, -ani, -ara, -chi, -i, -ini, -k, -n, -qui, -si, -u, -ui*, etc. There is a negative or privative particle *ana-*, used as a prefix (*e.g. ana- chuni*, "ugly," *i.e.* "not beautiful.") This particle is also used some times with nouns (*e.g. ana-karchicki*, handless.) Incorporation (or at least collocation) of the pronoun in the verb occurs, as, *e.g. lulicunkipec*, "dost thou desire to eat"? This word is derived from *luli*, "to eat"; *cun*, "thou"; and *kipec*, "to desire." The Uran language belongs to the class of American tongues which do not possess grammatical

[15] Polo, in the *Boletin de la Sociedad Geografico de Lima*, 10, 1901, pp. 445–482, from which Chamberlain's, and the present sketch, have largely been taken. Métraux' excellent work is predominantly on the Chipaya of Carangas; Raoul de la Grasserie's "Puquinan" is not undisputedly identifiable with Uru; and Alonzo de Barcena's *Lexica et Precepta in Quinque Indorum Linguis* (Lima ?1590), which is said to have contained a sketch of the language, is not known to exist in even a single copy.

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
SF24 Uru SF24

193 gender, know both prefixes and suffixes (but predominantly the latter), and also, in all probability have some forms of incorporation. But more material (texts, etc.) is needed to complete a satisfactory grammatical sketch. Reduplication appears to be not infrequent.

192 [191] All the Uru of Ancoaqui speak Aymará well, though few of them know Spanish. Aymará influence in vocabulary has been pointed out by Métraux.[18] Spanish influence is second in importance in borrowings, and Quechua a poor third: according to my calculations, in Métraux' vocabulary and textual examples identifiable as non-Uran, of 630 total listings of words, 63 or 10% are Aymará, 20 or 3% are Spanish in origin, and only 8 or 1.3% are Quechuan. Polo (page 479) notes four Aymará, perhaps three Quechua, and fourteen Spanish loan-words in Uru.

171 179 *Tribal Relations.* In any case, long contact with the Aymára is to be argued from the many Aymarisms in Uru culture, though of course nearly all of these are common *altiplano* possessions: the chewing of coca, the use of Aymára-like *gorros* or knitted llama-wool "toboggan-" caps for males, the use of *takia* and *t'ola* as fuel (as with all *altiplano* dwellers, including the whites, although there are unexploited coal beds south of Lake Titicaca), use of the *pinkiļu*-flute and other musical instruments, the Aymára-like brush-comb and many other articles of material culture, washing the hair in urine, the Aymára modification of colonial Spanish male clothing, the belief in and interpretation of dreams, some family names (e.g. Quispi, Inta), color-names, and vocabulary in general. Save in religion and other aspects of non-material culture, the Uru, like the Chipaya, is little different from general Aymára-Quechua *altiplano* culture, though because of relative isolation the Uru may have preserved elements of this Incasica culture from pre-Spanish times somewhat better than some of these original groups themselves.

144 [160] [178] *Physical Anthropology.* Uru males outnumber the females, and for some time they have been taking wives from among the Aymára. In so long a period of contact with their neighbors of so numerically small a group, much mixture of blood is inevitable; yet the preservation of their language is an earnest of a certain amount of social and biological isolation. Only four [55] [62] family names were encountered at Ancoaqui: Inta, Šalina, Bila and Qispi (for taxation purposes family names are used with Spanish given names), hence inbreeding may have intensified racial features otherwise diluted by 142 the occasional intermarriages with the Aymára. The Uru, particularly the younger individuals, have pleasant almond-shaped eyes, with a distinct

[18] Métraux (JSAP 27), pp. 90–110.